



Two aspects in Ninkare narrative discourse

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This paper was written at the ETP linguistic course about «Discourse Analysis» in Hosleys Green (Great Britain) in May 2013. I look at two aspects in Ninkare narrative discourse. First I look at the devices used to differentiate between background and highlighted material. I show how the discourse is carried forward: what serves to develop the theme thus contributing to the progression of the narrative, and how the contextual information needed to make sense of the narrative is presented. In a second part I describe how participants are introduced in a narrative and how the author then refers to these activated participants by nouns, pronouns or zero anaphora.

Discourse/Discourse for translation

Two aspects in Ninkare narrative discourse

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Contents

1	Introduction.....	2
2	Foreground and background.....	3
2.1	Presentation of Background Information.....	4
2.2	Highlighting foreground	8
3	Participant reference	10
3.1	Introduction of new participants	10
3.2	Participant tracking.....	13
4	Conclusion	17
5	References.....	18
6	Appendix 1, Abbreviations	18
7	Appendix 2, Ninkare narrative texts referred to in this paper.....	19
8	Appendix 3, Language Family Tree.....	20
9	Appendix 4, Chart of Text I	20
10	Appendix 5, Chart of Text 2	20

I INTRODUCTION

In this paper I look at two aspects in Ninkare narrative discourse. First I look at the devices used to differentiate between background and highlighted material. I show how the discourse is carried forward: what serves to develop the theme thus contributing to the progression of the narrative, and how the contextual information needed to make sense of the narrative is presented.

In a second part I describe how participants are introduced in a narrative and how the author then refers to these activated participants by nouns, pronouns or zero anaphora.

I have chosen two narrative texts, a folktale 'A man who was a thief' and a real life story 'How it happened that the people of Guenon accepted Christ' to illustrate my findings (see Appendix 4 and 5). In addition, these findings are based on a corpus of over twenty texts; a list of the texts which are referred to is found in Appendix 2.

I worked about eight years in this language and collected all the data myself. All texts are orally recorded and then written down and edited with the help of the speaker or another Ninkare person.

Ninkare belongs to the Northern Gur languages (see language family tree Appendix 3). Although Ninkare is a tone language, tone is omitted in the transcription as tone does not affect the topics treated in this paper.

As theoretical framework for this paper I mainly used the approach of Levinsohn, presented in 'Self-instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis' (2012). I also consulted 'Towards a typology of story development marking' (Levinsohn 2006), 'Analysing Discourse' (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001) and 'The Grammar of Discourse' (Longacre 1996).

2 FOREGROUND AND BACKGROUND

In discourse, foreground is what carries the discourse forward, called ‘mainline’, the main events of a narrative, whereas background provides contextualisation or ‘supportive material’ (Longacre 1996). ‘The mainline presents the backbone of the discourse -...- while the supportive material provides all that is necessary as a background for understanding the story...’ (Breeze 1992, 314).

Even though Givón questions the validity of these terms as a binary distinction, he agrees that there is some correlation between background, presupposition and old information and also between foreground, sequentiality and the mainline of the story (1987, 175–77).

There is not always a clear distinction between background and foreground but rather certain material is backgrounded with respect to other material that is used to advance the story. In narrative texts the highlighted or foregrounded material is agent oriented and its events are chronologically organised whereas non-event material and events of secondary importance are backgrounded (Levinsohn 2012, 66). The chronologically ordered sentences that describe events constitute foreground information unless marked in some way as being of secondary importance. These marked events together with the non-events build the background of the story.

To understand the structure of a narrative we need to know how the chain of clauses that refer to happenings that advance the story is built. In Ninkare the verbs of this storyline, also called eventline or theme-line, are normally in the perfective form, the non-marked basic form. When the subsequent actions are performed by the same participant they are expressed in this basic form without introduction nor participant reference. Change of participant is expressed by the introducing connective *ti* mostly

translated as 'and' followed by a participant reference (noun phrase or pronoun).

Stative verbs and verbs in the imperfective form often expressing habits usually set the scene or give explanations.

In Ninkare subordinate clauses frequently present background information whereas reported speech may have different functions, it can move the narrative forward, highlight important information or slow down the narrative before a climax.

I now present the different kinds of information and the devices used, first in the folk tale '*The man who was a thief*' and then add examples taken from the other narratives.

2.1 *Presentation of Background Information*

Background material may comment on 'something that already took place, prepare the hearer for something that is to come, or provide auxiliary information on something that is being mentioned.' (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, 79).

There are different kinds of background information, non-events including setting, evaluative, collateral and performative information, tail-head linkages restating previously given information and secondary events like events occurring prior or after the storyline events or habits.

In Ninkare, normally a narrative starts with the setting of the story, introducing the main participants, describing circumstances necessary for the understanding of the following events, and place and time if necessary.

This can be seen in the beginning of the Ninkare folktale '*The man who was a thief*', backtranslated into English, sentences 1-4:

(1a) A man was a thief (1b) married a wife (1c) and she was also a thief.

(2) Usually the man went to steal a sheep or a goat. (3) After having stolen, he hit it and killed it and put it inside a shrub, and then he returned home and told his wife that she should go with a basket and bring it here. (4) Every day he acted like this.

In the chart (Appendix 2) we see that the verbs in (1a) and (1c) are stative verbs (STAT). The verb in (1b) *di* 'marry' is in perfective form (PFV), but it goes with the stative verb *de* 'be' of the introduced participant showing a state; this man married (PFV), so he is married. The fact that his wife was also a thief, information that is relevant for the development of the theme, is introduced in an independent clause, joint with the default conjunction *tu* 'and'.

Also the real life story starts with an identificational introduction: 'There was a certain man named Atea', followed by a description of his condition that is the starting point of the story. Place and time are not stated in the folktale, also in this real life narrative the author just refers to the places that are already known to his audience without special introduction. Time however is important in the real life story, it is marked by the remote past particle *daan* preceding the first verb. This particle is repeated several times during the narrative (see in the preverb column in the text chart Appendix 3), but exclusively in background information.

The verb phrase in sentence 2 of the folktale starts with an auxiliary verb *ēn* 'do usually' showing that what follows is a habit, not a single action that goes into the eventline.

- 1) Tɪ buraa la ẽn sɛŋɛ ta zũ pesgo bu bua .
and man the do-usually walk go to steal sheep or goat

‘And the man went usually to steal a sheep or a goat.’

Text 1:2

The following sentence starts by repeating in a subordinate clause what was already said in the previous sentence, referring to the same subject and using the same verb. This tail-head linkage is also part of the background information.

- 2) A sǎn zũ kɪ'ulum , a wẽ ẽ ku me ...
he if steal finish he hit it kill DECL

‘If/when he had it stolen, he hit and killed it....’

Text 1:3

As we can see in the chart of the real life story, nearly all new episodes start with such a tail-head linkage.

Sentence 3 continues with a series of events which are foregrounded with respect to the setting of the scene in sentences 1 and 2 but backgrounded with respect to the main storyline beginning in sentence 5.

Additional background information is the explanatory information stating that what was said in sentence (3) was a habit, showing that what follows starts the real eventline:

- 3) Daare woo a ɪtɪ la bɛla .
day every he do-IPFV CPL-FOC this

Every day he acted like this.

Text 1:4

The sentence starts with a left-dislocated constituent ‘every day’, another device used mostly in background information.

Collateral information telling what did not happen, as a basis for what did happen, can be seen in text 3:

4) a yẽ la poka ..., ti a ka ye le a sire Akakute .
he see *CPL-FOC* woman and he not say his friend Mr Turtle

‘... he saw a woman ..., and he did not say it to his friend Mr. Turtle.’ Text 3:4

The fact that he did not tell but did something else is important for the eventline of the story.

Evaluative information conveying the author’s feelings can be seen in the real life story:

5) Wẽnnaam n tari pãña tunna yãlma la kɪrsɪ .
God SUB have power work dazzling and astonishing things

‘...for God has power to do great deeds and astonishing things’. Text 2:20d-e

Often the author addresses his audience directly. Folktales normally end with performative information like:

6) Bela ti mam yeti m ye le ti ya bãŋe .
this that I going to I say that you know

‘That is what I wanted to tell you so that you know.’ Text 1:14

The reported speech in the folktale is background information pointing forward to later speeches and later events. In sentence 3 ‘and told his wife that she should go with a basket and bring it here’ is part of his habits pointing forward to the same speech in sentence 5 and leading to the actions of the wife contributing to the event line.

Another kind of background information are events out of temporal order. For example it may look forward to what will come into the eventline later, like in the folktale where the main person went to the dance while the action of the wife became foreground, and only later the husband at the dance place enters the storyline again.

Another example of events out of order is flash back is in the real life story, there the earlier reaction of the people of Guenon is related to underline that what finally happened did change their behaviour.

2.2 Highlighting foreground

As observed cross-linguistically (Levinsohn 2012, 68), in Ninkare the theme-line of the narrative also consists mostly of unmarked information. In the storyline the events follow one after another and only the default connector *ti* is used when necessary to show a change of participants. But different means are used to mark important information. One of them is the development marker *la* ‘and’, marking a new step in the narrative, building on what was said before. Also auxiliary verbs or adverbs like *dee* ‘then’ or *yãṇa* ‘and then’ are often used to build the storyline up toward the climax, one event following the other.

In the story ‘*The man who was a thief*’ the connective *la* ‘and’ is used to highlight the start of the eventline and is followed by several *dee* ‘then’ or *yãṇa* ‘and then’.

- 7) **La** a wv ku la pesgo ayɬa , **yãṇa** ka bĩṇe
and he come to kill CPL-FOC sheep one and then go to put down
bagne tilum **dee** **yãṇa** yetɬ : ...
kind of tree under then and then say that

And/but (one day) he killed a sheep, **and then** put it under a piliostgma tree **and then** said: ... Text 1:5a-c

Mostly it is the preceding background information that highlights ‘a significant development ... or a change of direction’ or the approach of the climax (Levinsohn 2012, 79).

In the story *'The man who was a thief'* sentence 6 begins with a tale-head linkage, thus interrupting the storyline, signalling a change of participant, pointing out that the actions of this other main participant will continue the storyline.

Then the eventline is interrupted again by the explanatory information of sentence 8 to slow down, highlighting thus that what follows is even more salient.

Other rhetorical devices like interjections and emotive language are used to draw attention to what follows. In the example

8) *tɔtɔ* *tɪ* *a* *dɪkɛ* Akakute ...
quickly that she take Mr Turtle

Quickly she took Mr. Turtle...

Text 3:6a

the preposed adverb *tɔtɔ* 'quickly' highlights the importance of the following actions speeding up the events towards the climax. Also 'onomatopoetic expressions' are, as in other languages, 'especially characteristic of peak' (Longacre 1996, 48). For example in text 1:9e-f the interjection *yeehe*, used twice, signals the following climax of the narrative.

Other ways of highlighting are the use of different verb forms than the norm, or repetition of important information. In text 1:9a-c verbs in the imperfective forms are used for events leading to the climax and in the following sentence the threefold use of the auxiliary verb 'just do' highlights the following climax where the tension is highest.

Semantically the imperfective forms underline the fact that the actions are important but hidden to the other people except his wife, 'just do' shows that the man pretends to act in a normal way thus pointing his wife to the solution of the problem.

Also in text 2 the multiple repetition of the name Atea is not only used rhetorically to slow down and highlight following foreground information but also

parallels what is happening to him: several repetitions of spirit possession and healing. And even after being healed three times, it is not enough, another person needs to be healed from another problem until the final solution appears and enough people believe that a church can be built.

3 PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

In Ninkare the default way of telling a story is to begin by introducing the major participant or participants and describing the circumstances that are important as setting in order to convey the intended content of the narrative. The minor participants are introduced when needed as the story goes along.

In this section I want to consider the way participants are introduced in a narrative and how the author then refers to these activated participants who have already been introduced.

3.1 *Introduction of new participants*

The introduction of participants differs according to their status; major participants are active for a large part of the narrative, whereas minor participants only for a short time, mainly one episode of the story. Very often there is one major participant, the hero or protagonist who is at the centre of attention and could also be called VIP according to Levinsohn (2012, 133). We can see, however, the special importance of this VIP only in the way he is introduced and in the fact that he remains the most important participant throughout the whole narrative. There are no special terms used to refer to him. Other major participants are mostly introduced in reference to this first participant.

The introduction of this central character normally goes together with the establishment of a new mental representation as shown in the first sentence of the folktale.

- 9) Buraa **n** **de** nayiga di **a** **pɔga** **tɪ** **a** **mẽ** **dəna**
 man (male) **SBJ-FOC** **be-STAT** thief win **his** **wife** and she also be-STAT
 nayiga.
 thief

‘A man-FOC was a thief, married his wife and she was also a thief.’ Text1:1

The major participant is introduced in a non-event clause (the noun is followed by the subject focus marker and the stative verb ‘to be’), but in this example he becomes at the same time the topic of what follows: he had married his wife who was also a thief. The wife who is the second major participant is introduced in reference to the VIP (his wife).

In this folktale, the main participant is introduced in a very general form ‘a man’. In the animal tale (Text 3), the main characters are just stated as *Laaluja* and *Akakute* ‘nightjar’ and ‘turtle’. The prefix A- at the beginning of turtle shows a personification, but this is not even necessary for nightjar, as he is a well-known personality. In animal tales the nightjar or the rabbit whose characteristics are well known do not need to be properly introduced and thus the narrative just starts off with the nightjar as topic in a topic-event clause.

- 10) Laaluja **daan** **yele** **Akakute** **mɛ** **yetɪ** : ...
 night jar past say Mr Turtle **DECL** say that

‘Night jar said to Mr. Turtle : ...’ Text 3:1

This shows us that a well-known character is introduced in a very concise way whereas an unknown participant needs to be presented, as in the real life story (Text 2) that starts with ‘There was a certain man...’. The noun is followed by ‘one’ grammaticalised with the meaning ‘a certain’ and his name is added. This implies that the introduced participant is salient in the following eventline.

Here the main character needs to be more specified, because he is a real person.

11) Bɔraa ayɫa yu'vɾe n daan de Atɪa .
man (male) one name SBJ-FOC past be-STAT Atea

‘A certain man his name was Atea.’

Text 2:2

This identificational introduction is followed by a description of the context concerning this participant that is necessary for the story.

If other major participants who need to be introduced later in the story cannot be introduced in reference to an active participant, they are introduced with a noun phrase followed by the subject focus particle *n* as topic of a topic-comment clause. The sentence starts with the development marker *la* ‘and’ or ‘but’. The introduction of a new major participant is at the same time a disruption and the starting point of a new developmental unit.

12) **La** pɔka ayẽma bia **n** mẽ n daan ka tarɪ laafe
and-DM woman other child SBJ-FOC also SBJ-FOC past not have health

‘And another woman’s child-FOC was also not healthy, ...’

Text 2: 28a

There are other participants whose existence is assumed to be known by the audience and so they are not introduced, like in the real life story the pastor, people of

Guenon and people of Guelwongo and also the evil spirits. They are accessible to the audience ‘due to their presence in the text-external world’ (Lambrecht 1996, 99).

Minor participants are not formally introduced; they can appear in reference to an active participant, as topic of a topic-comment clause or as object of a perception verb. The absence of the focus marker signals the minor status of the participant, as illustrated in the following example.

13) Nēra ayɪla tɔlla, tɪ bõnsɛla dõn ẽ.

person one pass, and snake bit him

‘A person passed by and the snake bit him.’

Text 4:5

The person is not specified because it does not matter who the person was and his reaction to the snake bite is the one proposed as the expected one.

3.2 *Participant tracking*

Once participants have been introduced, they may be referred to by different means such as ‘zero’ (no mention at all but still understood as the topic), a simple or an emphatic pronoun, a noun with definite article or a full noun phrase.

Cross-linguistically, when the subject remains the same between sentences of a story, the default way of referring to the subject of the second sentence is with the minimum amount of encoding permitted in the language. (Levinsohn 2006, 1)

On the semantic level they need to be referred to in a way that is unambiguous in order to distinguish them from other possible referents. Marked forms are used to convey additional meaning on the discourse level on top of referring unambiguously to the corresponding referent.

In Ninkare the default way to refer to activated participants differs according to the context. When the subject of the clause is the same as in the previous clause no overt reference is made to it, there is zero anaphora as we see in the following chart of Text 1:1.

	Connective	Subject	Preverb	Verb	Complement
1a		Buraa n man FOC		de (STV) be	nayiga thief
1b		---		di win	a pɔga his wife
1c	ti and	a she	mě also	dena (STV) be	nayiga thief

The subject of (1b) is the same as the one of (1a), so there is no constituent in the subject column. As shown in the charts of the texts (Appendixes 2 and 3), there are a lot of zero anaphoric references to activated participants, always for subjects and in independent clauses. This type of reference is used especially for the major participants.

When the subject differs from the one of the previous clause, it is introduced by the default connector *ti* 'and' followed by the simple pronoun. The subject of clause (1c) is the object of the previous clause. As a rule we can say that the pronoun after *ti* refers to the last mentioned participant other than the subject of the previous clause.

This same rule applies also in a relative clause: if the head noun is the subject of the relative clause, there is no relativiser, but if the relative clause has another subject, the head noun is followed by the relativiser *ti* and the pronoun for the subject, if it was mentioned before, otherwise followed by the noun or NP. Examples of these strategies are given in 14)-15).

Head noun in the subject role:

- 14) *kēnkān-gi'ire* *n* *ze* *la* *bagnε* *la*
Pilostigma tree SUB stand with kind of tree SUB

‘the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree’

Text1:12a

Head noun is not the subject of the relative clause:

- 15) *yire* *n* *lēm* *na* *zē-sēka* *tɪ* *a* *yetɪ* *a* *mē* *la*
house SUB be near CPL-FOC place-that REL he going he to build SUB

‘the house that is near the place where he was going to build’

Text 5:9

If the subject of the relative clause is not the head noun but the subject of the previous clause, the relativiser *tɪ* is needed, but a following simple pronoun would be understood as a subject other than the one of the previous clause. In this case the emphatic pronoun *ēŋa* ‘this’ is used to refer to the subject of the previous clause.

Example:

- 16) *poka* *la* *yēle* *la* *pesgo* *la* *tɪ* *ēŋa* *sēŋe* *ta* *ε* *koŋe* *la* .
woman the say the sheep the that-REL she walk go to look for miss SUB
‘the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't succeed.’

Text1:10c-d

The same applies to the subject of a subordinate clause that is complement to a previous predicate; a simple pronoun would refer to a different participant than the subject of the previous clause. But the emphatic pronoun *ēŋa* ‘this’ refers back to the last subject in both cases, if the complementiser *tɪ* (or *yeti*) is necessary to introduce the clause or if it can be omitted as illustrated in the following example.

17) A ka mi **ẽṇa** n wun ye le se'em yeti **ẽṇa** ka
 she not know she-EMPH SUB FUT say how say-COMP she-EMPH not
 yẽ pesgo la .
 see sheep SUB

‘She did not know how she should go about to tell him that she did not find the sheep.’ Text1: 8

Thus the simple pronoun normally refers to another participant than the subject of the previous clause, the emphatic pronoun ‘this’ is used to signal that it refers to the subject of the previous clause.

A minor participant often occurs just once, but if he needs to be mentioned again, it is normally done by a noun and definite article as in text 4, the person introduced ‘a man’ without any specification, is then referred to by noun and definite article ‘the man’.

If an already mentioned participant wasn’t referred to for some time, he is no longer active and has to be reactivated, thus instead of the pronoun he is referred to by a noun followed by the definite marker.

18) La **ẽṇa** n boe yɔɔŋɔ la zẽ'a na , **pɔka**
 but he-EMPH SUB be, exist dance (kind) the place SUB **woman**
la sẽŋɛ ...
DEF go

But when he was at the dancing place, **the wife** went Text 1:6a-b

As the nightjar is the major participant in the animal tale (Text 3), he is referred to just as ‘nightjar, without using the determiner (definite article) when referred to later.

4 CONCLUSION

In Ninkare, just as cross-linguistically, the storyline or mainline of a narrative is built by chains of clauses that refer to chronologically organised events. There is the foreground material that contributes to the progression of the narrative, and other material that gives the context for the foreground, supports it and adds further information.

This paper shows the devices used for the foregrounded information, mostly unmarked verbs in the basic form and clauses joined together by the minimum of linguistic marking permitted in the language. The backgrounded material, however, uses a lot of devices and linguistic signals to support and often highlight the mainline events. Often background information is introduced to slow down the narrative before a climax and thus stress out the importance of what follows.

The narrative text is agent-oriented. The most important participant is normally introduced at the beginning of the story and the other major participants are presented in reference to him, whereas the minor participants are just mentioned when needed for the narrative. Afterwards these participants are referred to according to their status and role. There is a correlation between amount of background material used to introduce a participant and his salience in the narrative. On the other hand it is the unmarked tracking of him after having been introduced that shows his importance for the story.

Use of verb forms and participant reference are just two of many aspects showing how Ninkare discourse works. Another important aspect, the way how information is joint together to build the whole text will be subject of my further studies.

5 REFERENCES

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6 APPENDIX I, ABBREVIATIONS

COMP	complementiser
CPL-FOC	complement focus
DECL	declarative particle –something that really happened
DEF	definite article
FUT	future auxiliary
IPFV	imperfective verb
PFV	perfective verb
PAST	remote past particle
REL	relativiser
SBJ-FOC	subject focus
STV	stative verb
SUB	particle showing subordinate clause

7 APPENDIX 2, NINKARE NARRATIVE TEXTS REFERRED TO IN THIS PAPER

Text 1:

Buraa n de nayiga

‘The man who was a thief’ by Sia Benjamin

Text 2:

La ẽṅe se'em ti Gurṅo nẽrba yãṅa sake Azezi

‘How it happened that the people of Guenon accepted Christ’

by KAZONI Nma Elisabeth

Text 3:

Laaluṅa la Akakute yelle

‘Nightjar and Turtle’ by Sia Benjamin

Text 4:

Kãmponne la bõnsela yelle

‘The story of the toad and the snake’ by Sia Benjamin

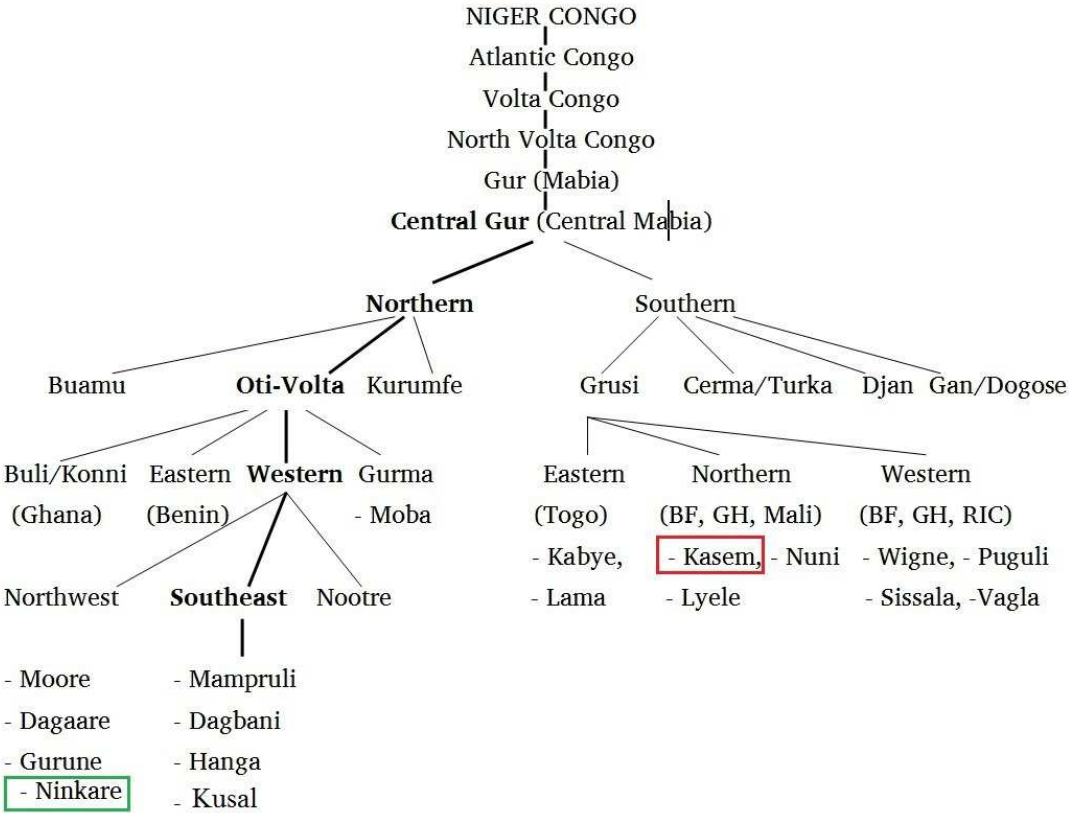
Text 5:

Ba yesrı yi-paale la wãne wãne?

‘How to build a new home’ by Sia Benjamin

8 APPENDIX 3, LANGUAGE FAMILY TREE

Language family tree:



9 APPENDIX 4, CHART OF TEXT I

See pages 22-27

10 APPENDIX 5, CHART OF TEXT 2

See pages 28-37

Appendix 4, Chart of Text 1: **The man who was a thief**

by Sia Benjamin

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus					Post-nuclear	
	Pre-posed	Connective	Subject	preverb	Verb	Object/Complement	postverb	Adjunct	
1a			Buraa n		de (STV)	nayiga	1 A man was a thief, married his wife and she was also a thief. 2 And the man went usually to steal a sheep or a goat. 3 After having stolen, he hit it and killed it and put it inside a shrub, then he returned home and told his wife that she should go with a basket and bring it here. 4 Every day he acted like this.		
			man SBJ-FOC		be	thief			
1b			---		di	a pɔga			
					win	his wife			
1c		ti	a	mẽ	dɛna (STV)	nayiga			
		and	she	also	be	thief			
2a		Tɪ	buraa la	ẽn	sẽŋɛ				
		and	man (male) the	usually	walk				
2b			---	ta	zũ	pesgo bu bua			
				go to	steal	sheep or goat			
3a			[A	sãn	zũ		kɪ'ɫɔm]		
			he	if	steal		finish		
3b			a [3a]		wẽ	ẽ			
			he		hit	it			
3c			---		ku		mɛ		
					kill		DECL		
3d			---		bĩŋɛ	tũntuure pvam			
					put down	shrub in			

3e		dee then	---	lebe return	---	yire house			
3f			---	ka go to	yele say	a pɔga la his wife the	yeti [3g-3h] say that		
3g			<u>[a]</u> she		<u>dike</u> take	<u>pɔ'</u> basket			
3h			---	<u>ka</u> go to	<u>dike</u> take		<u>ta wa]</u> go to come		
4	Daare woo day every		a he		ɪti la (IPFV) do CPL-FOC	bɛla this			
5a		La and	a he	wɔ come to	ku la kill CPL-FOC	pesgo ayɪla sheep one	5 But (one day) he killed a sheep, and then put it under a piliostgma tree and then said (to his wife), she should take a basket and get the sheep (home), and then he went on to dance a Yongo dance.		
5b			---	yāŋa ka and then go to	bīŋe put down	bagne tilum kind of tree under			
5c		dee then	---	yāŋa and then	yeti [5d-5e] say that				
5d			<u>[a]</u> she	<u>dike</u> take	---	<u>pɔ'</u> basket			
5e			---	<u>ka</u> go to	<u>dike</u> take	<u>pesgo la</u> sheep the	<u>wa'am]</u> come		
5f		dee then	---		tole [5g] pass by				
5g		<u>[ti</u> in order to	a he	ka go to	wa dance	<u>yɔŋŋɔ]</u> dance (kind)			

6a	[La but	ēṇa n he EMPH SUB		boe (STV) be, exist	yɔɔŋɔ la zē'a dance (kind) the place	na] SUB		
6b		pɔka la [6a] woman the		sēŋe [6c] go		6 But when he was at the dancing place, the wife went to search for the sheep but failed (did not find it).		
6c	[tu in order to	a she		ɛ get	pesgo la] sheep the			
6d		---		koŋe miss		me DECL		
7a	Yāṇa and then	---	leme wu return here come to	babse meet up with	a sra la poore her husband the behind	7 Then she returned and went to join her husband then she arrived at the place of the Yongo dance, and he was dancing in the Yongo dance.		
7b		---	ka go to	paage arrive	yɔɔŋɔ la zē'a dance (kind) the place			
7c	tu and	a he		boe (STV) be, exist	yɔɔŋɔ la puam dance (kind) the in	wa'ara dance		
8a		A she	ka not	mi [8b-8c] (STV) know				
8b		[ēṇa n she-EMPH SUB	wɔn FUT	yele say	se'em how	yetu [8c] say that		
8c		[ēṇa she	ka not	yē see	pesgo la] sheep SUB	8 She did not know how she should go about to tell him that she did not find the sheep.		

9a		Ti and	a she	yāŋa and then	tarɪ (IPFV) have	a kāmpeŋo la her fan the			
9b			---		pəbsra (IPFV) kindle	a sira la her husband the			
9c		dee then	---	yāŋa and then	kəlna (IPFV) cry	kēnkəlŋa cry of excitement			
9d		dee then	---		yetɪ [9e-9f] say that				
9e	<u>[Yeehe ***]</u>		<u>mam</u> I	<u>ka</u> not	<u>yē</u> see	<u>ē</u> it	<p>9 And she then hold her fan and joined her husband fanning him crying/yelling a yelling song saying: 'Yehee, I Yeehe, I did not see it, yeehe I did not see/find it.'</p>		
9f	<u>yeehe ***</u>		<u>mam</u> I	<u>ka</u> not	<u>yē</u> see	<u>ē</u> it			
10a		Ti and	a sira la her husband the	mē also	bāŋɛ [10b-10d] know		<p>10 And her husband also knew that the woman spoke about the sheep that she was going to get but didn't succeed.</p>		
10b		[ti that	pɔka la woman the		yele la say CPL-FOC	pesgo la sheep the			
10c		ti that-REL	ēŋa she		sēŋɛ walk				
10d			---	ta go to	ɛ koŋɛ la] look for miss SUB				

11a		Tɪ and	a he	kə'ɔn simply do	sēŋɛ wē'era (IPFV) walk hit	a dēnlɔɔ his castanet			
11b		dee then	---	kə'ɔn simply do	murse bend	a gurgɔ his back	wa'ara dance		
11c		dee then	---	kə'ɔn simply do	yetɪ [10h-10i] say that				
11g	<u>[ɛ'ɛ ***]</u>		<u>kēnkān- gi'ire la n</u> Pilostigma tree the SUB		<u>ze (STV)</u> stand	<u>la bagne</u> with kind of tree	<p>11 And he simply went on playing his castanets and bending his back and constantly saying: 'E'e, short fig tree standing at the pilostigma tree, short fig tree standing at the piliostigma tree.'</p>		
11e			<u>kēnkān- gi'ire la n</u> Pilostigma tree the SUB		<u>ze (STV)</u> stand	<u>la bagne]</u> with kind of tree			
12a		Tɪ and	pɔka la woman the	zoe run	bāŋɛ sēŋɛ know walk	kēnkān-gi'ire n ze la bagne Pilostigma tree SUB stand with kind of tree SUB			
12b			---	ka go to	duke take	pesgo la sheep the	<p>12 And the woman understood quickly and went to the short fig tree that stood next to the Piliostigma tree and took the sheep and cooked it and they ate it.</p>		
12c			---		duge cook				
12e		tɪ and	ba they		obe crunch				

13a	Bela	tu	ba		yetu [11b]				
	So	and	they		say that				
13b			<u>[nayiga pɔga n</u>		<u>tã (STV)</u>	<u>kurna la]</u>			
			thief wife SUB		overcome	obstacles the			
14a	Bela	tu	mam	yetu	---				
	this	that	I	going to					
14b			m		yele				
			I		say				
14c		tu	ya		bãŋɛ				
		that	you		know				

13 That is why they say that a thief's wife overcomes the obstacles.
14 That is what I wanted to tell you so that you know.

Appendix 5, Chart of Text 2: 'I How it happened that the people of Guenon accepted Christ' by KAZONI Nma Elisabeth

#	Pre-nuclear		Nucleus					Post-nuclear
	Pre-posed	Connec tive	Subject	preverb	Verb	Object/Complement	postverb	Adjunct
1	La ēṇe se'em it happen how	ti that	Gurṇo nērba Gueno people	yāṇa and then	sake accept	Azezi Jesus		
2			Buraa ayila yu'v're n man one name SBJ-FOC	daan PAST	de (STV) be	Atia Atea		
3a			A he	daan ka PAST not	tari (IPFV) have	laafe health		
3b		la and	a he		ze'ele la (STV) be fromCPL-FOC	Gurṇo Gueno		
3c		la and	a he	daan PAST	zallı (IPFV) be mad		mε DECL	
4			A he	ka not	mi (STV) know	a mēṇa n boe he himself SBJ-FOC exist		
5a		Tı and	ba they		tari (STV) have	ē him		Gurṇo la Gueno DEF
5b			---		wa'am come	Yelwāṇṇo pastēr yire Guelwongo pastor house		

2 A certain man his name was Atea.
3 He was not in good health, he came from Guenon and he was mad. 4 He didn't know about his own existence.
5 And they brought him from Guenon to the pastor's house in Guelwongo.

6a	La Azezi yu'bre ĩya with Jesus name because		ba they		pu'use pray	Wēnnaam God	mε DECL	Atia ĩya Atea because
6b		ti and	kulkā'arsı evil spirits		yese leave		6 And in the name of Jesus they prayed to God for Atea, and the demons left Atea and he found health. 7 And he lived in the pastors house for three months, and then he went back to live at home in Guenon.	
6c		dee then	---		base leave	Atia Atea		
6d		ti and	a he		yē see	laafe health		
7a		Ti and	a he		kē enter	pastēr yire pastor house		paa wōrsı sitā reach months three
7b		dee then	---	yāŋa and then	lebe kule return go home	Gurŋo Gueno		
8a		[La and	ēn he-SUB		paa arrive	Gurŋo la] Gueno SUB		
8b			Atia [8a] Atea	le do sth. again	sose beg	sorɔɔ way	mε DECL	
8c		ti that	ēŋa he EMPH		boori[8d](STV) want		8 And when he arrived in Guenon, Atea asked again for the way (permission), that he wanted to leave and go to Ivory Coast and the pastor gave him permission.	
8d		[ti that	a he	yese leave	sēŋe la go to DEF	Kodivɔɔri] Ivory Coast		
8e		ti that	pastēr pastor		bɔ give	ē sorɔɔ him way		

9a		La and	pastɛər pastor	daan ka PAST not	sake [9b] accept			
9b		[tɪ that	a he	sɛŋɛ go to	---]			
9c	la Atia pɛrgre ĩya but Atea obligation because		pastɛər pastor		bɔ give	ẽ sorɔɔ him way	mɛ [9d-9f] DECL	
9d		[tɪ that	a he		sɛŋɛ go to			
9e			---	ka go to	tɔm work			
9f		dee then	---		wa'am] come			
10a		[La and	ẽn he-SUB		sɛŋɛ go to	Kodivɔɔɾɪ la] Ivory Coast SUB		
10b			a [10a] he	le ka do sth. again go to	yũ drink	dãam alcoholic drink	mɛ DECL	
10c			---		yũ smoke	sigaaɾɪ cigarette		
10d		tɪ and	kulkã'arsɪ la evil spirits the	len do again	isge get up			
10e			---	len do again	kẽ enter	ẽ him		

9 In fact the pastor did not agree that he went, but because of the Atea's insistence, the pastor gave permission to go to work and come back.

10 And when he went to Ivory Coast, he went again to drink alcohol and to smoke cigarettes, and the demons attacked again and entered him.

11a		Tɪ and	a he	len do again	isge get up	zɔlgɔ mad person		Kodivɔɔɾɪ Ivory Coast
11b		tɪ and	ba they		bobe tie	a nu'usi his hands		
11c			---		bobe tie	a nāma his feet		
11d			---		tart have	ẽ him		
11e			---		ze'ele be from somewhere	Kodivɔɔɾɪ Ivory Coast		
11f			---	le do sth. again	wa'am come			
12a		La and	ba they	le do sth. again	pu'vse pray	Wēnnaam God	mɛ DECL	la Azezi yu'vre le with Jesus name with
12b		tɪ and	Atia Atea	le do sth. again	yẽ see	laafe health		
12c		tɪ that	a zɔlgɔ la his mad person the		yese leave			
12d		dee then	---		base leave	ẽ him		
13		Tɪ and	Atia Atea	le do sth. again	kule go home			

11 And again he became mad in Ivory Coast so that they tied up his hands, tied up his feet, were taking him from Ivory Coast and brought him back. 12 And/but they prayed again for him to God in Jesus name, and Atea get healthy again, his madness left him. 13 And Atea returned home again.

14a		[La and	ẽn he-SUB		kule go home		
14b			---	ka go to	bɔna (STV) be	Gurɔ la] Gueno SUB	
14c			a [14a-14b] he	len do again	wa'am come	mɛ DECL	
14d			---		sɛnna (IPFV) coming	kalam here	
14e			---		ɪta (IPFV) do	karɛŋɔ lecture	Yelwɔŋɔ kalam Guelwongo here
15a			---	Le wa do sth. again come to	sose beg	sorɔɔ way	<p>14 And when he returned home and was in Guenon, again he used to come here and attend church here in Guelwongo.</p> <p>15 Again he came asked permission that he wanted to go to Zabre go to work a bit to help himself. 16 And they let him and he went.</p>
15b		ti and	ẽŋa he EMPH		boort (STV) [want	15c-15e]	
15c		[ti that	a he		sɛŋɛ la go to DEF	Zabre Zabre	
15d			---	ka go to	tum work	fɛɛ a bit	
15e			---		sɔŋɛ help	a mɛŋa] him himself	
16a		Ti and	ba they		base let	ẽ him	
16b		ti that	a he		sɛŋɛ go to		

17a			[Ĕn he-SUB	le do sth. again	sēŋe go to	Zabre la] Zabre DEF		
17b			kulkā'arsı [17a] evil spirits	le do sth. again	sēŋe go to			
17c			---	ka go to	kě enter	ẽ him		bilam me over there DECL
17d		ti and	a he	le do sth. again	yūura (STV) drink	dāam la sigaari alcoholic drink and cigarette		
17e		ti and	zɔlgɔ la mad person the	le do sth. again	isge get up	ẽ him		Zabre Zabre
18a		Ti and	ba they	le do sth. again	tari (IPFV) have	Atia Atea	<p>17 When he went again to Zabre, the demons went again to enter him there, and again he was drinking beer and smoking cigarettes, and the madness started in him again in Zabre.</p> <p>18 And they took Atea again and brought him to Guelwongo, and they prayed again and his madness left him again.</p>	
18b			---	le do sth. again	wa'am come	Yelwɔŋɔ Guelwongo		
18c		ti and	ba they	le do sth. again	pu'vse pray	Wēnnaam God		
18d		ti and	a zɔlgɔ la he mad person the	le do sth. again	yese leave			
18e		dee then	---		base leave	ẽ him		

19			Butã n three SUB		---	bela this		
20a			Bela this		base make		mɛ [19b-19e] DECL	
20b		[ti and	Gurma la people of Guenon DEF		yē see	Wēnnaam pāṇa God power	<div> <p>19 That was the third time.</p> <p>20 This made the people of Guenon recognize the power of God and the miracles God is performing, for God has power to do great deeds and astonishing things.</p> <p>21 This made the people of Guenon happy.</p> </div>	
20c		la and	Wēnnaam bōn- bānɛ n God extraordinary things SBJ-FOC		iti [19d-19e] (IPFV) do			
20d			[Wēnnaam n God SBJ-FOC		tari (IPFV) have	pāṇa power		
20e			---		tonna (IPFV) work	yālma la kirsɪ dazzling and astonishing things		
21a			Bela this		base make	mɛ [20b] DECL		
21b		[ti that	Gurma la sūure people of Guenon DEF heart		ēṇɛ experience	yēlum] good		
22a		Ti in fact	Gurma people of Guenon	daan PAST	yele say		yetɪ [21b-21h] say that	
22b			<u>[Atia</u> Atea	<u>sān</u> if	<u>yese</u> come out of		<div> <p>22 In fact the people of Gueno had said, if Atea would come out (of his madness) they also would follow God,</p> </div>	
22c			<u>bāma</u> they	<u>mē wun</u> also FUT	<u>doose</u> follow	<u>Wēnnaam</u> God		

22d	<u>bēm ĩya</u> what because		<u>bāma</u> they		<u>yōge la</u> catch CPL-FOC	<u>nii</u> cows		
22e			---		<u>tibe</u> treat	<u>Atia</u> Atea	<u>kone</u> miss	
22f		[la but	ba they	sān if	pɔ'vse pray	Wēnnaam God	<div> because they had several times caught cows to treat Atea without success, but if they pray God and if Atea would get healthy, they also would follow God. 23 And Atea got healthy. </div>	
22g		ti and	Atia Atea	sān if	yē see	laafe] health		
22h			<u>bāma</u> they	<u>mē wɔn</u> also FUT	<u>doose</u> follow	<u>Wēnnaam]</u> [21f-21g] God		
23		La and	Atia Atea		yē see	laafe health	mɛ DECL	
24a			[Ēn he-SUB		yē see	laafe la health SUB		poorɔm] after
24b			Yelwɔɔsɪ people of Guelwongo		sēŋɛ [23a] go to		mɛ DECL	
24c			---	ta go to	tɔgsɛ tell	Wēnnaam yetɔga God word	<div> 24 After he got healthy, people from Guelwongo went to preach God's word to them. </div>	
24d			---		bɔ give	ba them		

25a		Ti and	nērba people		sose beg	sugri indulgence		
25b			---		sēnna (IPFV) coming	kalam Wēndeem here to church		
25c		dee but	---	ka not	zo'e be many			
26a	Sēnna bela fēnfē go IPFV this a bit	ti and	Gurma people of Guenon	wa come to	sose [25b- beg	25d]		
26b		[tí that	ba they		wa'am come	bilam over there		
26c			---	wu come to	toge tell	Wēnnaam yetoga God word		
26d		ti and	bāma they		boori la (STV) want CPL-FOC	Wēndeo] church		
27a			Bela this		base make		mε [26b-26c] DECL	
27b		[ti that	ba they		sēge go to			
27c			---	ta go to	toge tell	Wēnnaam yetoga] God word		
27d		ti and	nērba people		sose beg	sugri indulgence		

25 And people got converted and came (regularly) here to church; but they were not many.
 26 This went on a bit, and the people of Guenon came asking that they come preach there that they wanted a church.
 27 That's why they went to preach God's word and people got converted.

28a		La	poka ayēma bia n	mē n daan ka	tart	laafe	28 And the child of a certain woman was also not healthy, his ear like that was pierced, so they prayed to God, and because of the power of Jesus his ear was completely healed, in Jesus' name.	
		and	woman other child SBJ-FOC	also PAST not	have	health		
28b		ti	a tubre wāna	di	vūŋe			
		that	his ear like that	burn	pierce			
28c		ti	ba		pu'vse	Wēnnaam		
		so	they		pray	God		
28d	la Azezi pāŋa la īya		a tubre la waa wuu		base		mε	la Azezi yu'vre
	with Jesus power the ause	bec	his ear DEF all all		leave		DECL	with Jesus name
29a			Bela		base		mε [28b-28c]	
			this		make		DECL	
29b		[ti	Gurma la		yē			
		that	people of Guenon DEF		see			
29c			Wēnnaam pāŋa la n		zo'e]		29 This made that the people of Guenon saw that God's power is great, and the people of Guenon got converted, the people were many up to hundred. 30 And so they went to build a church in Gueno, in Balliribia.	
			God power the SBJ -FOC		be much			
29d		ti	Gurma la		sose	sugri		
		and	people of Guenon DEF		beg	indulgence		
29e		ti	nērba la		zo'e paa	nēr-kɔbga		
		and	people the		be many arrive	hundred people		
30		Ti	ba	ta	mē	Wēndeo		Gurŋo Balirbia
		and	they	go to	build	church		Gueno Balliribia